

Sen. Young surveys Saudis, tariffs, Mueller

Freshman senator accepts intel on MBS, warns of Iran, seeks Trump plan on trade and tariffs

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – During his two years in the U.S. Senate, Republican Todd Young has been a persistent voice on the plight of people tormented by the Yemen civil war. He describes the current situation as one of the most severe humanitarian disasters since World War II.

Since October, events in Yemen have collided with Saudi Arabia's murder of Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi, with U.S. intelligence services directly implicating Crown Prince Moham-



U.S. Sen. Todd Young during his HPI Interview on Monday at his office in Indianapolis. (HPI Photo by Brian A. Howey)

med bin Salman (MBS). President Trump has not accepted those assessments, prompting Young and 13 Republicans to join Democrats in a delivering a historic rebuke to Saudi Arabia, which Young says has indiscriminately bombed citizens and perpetrated a famine that could kill 14 million people.

After that procedural vote last week, Young said in a statement, "There are serious and legitimate concerns regarding human rights in Iran. How-

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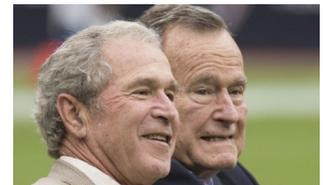
Mueller endgame nears

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – As the nation laid to rest President George H.W. Bush Wednesday and today, we will soon bear witness to the legal and political tectonic plates that have been grinding – some in silence, others with a fever Twitter pitch – for the past 18 months.



The America we wake up to on Friday morning, or, perhaps, next Monday could be as different as the nation and world we knew in January 1989, and the one emerging before our eyes in the coming days, weeks and months. The "endgame" of Special Counsel Robert Mueller's Russia collusion probe appears to be at hand. Where it leads us



“One reason Dad knew how to die young was that he almost did it — twice. For Dad’s part, I think those brushes with death made him cherish the gift of life.”

- Former President George W. Bush, eulogizing his father, President George H.W. Bush



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is anyone's guess. It is hardly a leap to suggest that it stands to reshape the governing, political and cultural contours in a way almost no one can comprehend today.

Mueller has been a silent force in the Capitol, methodical and menacing to President Trump. While there have been spikes in his activities, with the indictment of 12 Russian military apparatchiks last June while Trump met alone with President Putin, what we don't know is akin to an Everest brooding above the molehill we can fathom.

Where this leads our nation is as mysterious as lurking death or even the Creator. We don't know if he absolves President Trump, commencing the next six years of his governance, or the advent of President Mike Pence.

Scientists say that if the Cascade Subduction Zone snaps in the Pacific Northwest, the tip-off will be about 30 seconds of dogs barking across the neighborhood patchwork. Today, these dogs are Mueller's court filings, designed to influence the looming sentences of the Michaels, Flynn and Cohen, both of whom have flipped. According to Axios, the most conspicuous "flippers," the Michaels and former White House counsel Don McGahn, have spent a combined 119 hours with Mueller's team: 70 hours with Cohen, 30 with McGahn and 19 with Flynn. CNN analyst Elie Honig provides perspective: "By the end of this week, we will know much more about the strength of Robert Mueller's hand and the threat his investigation poses to President Donald Trump and his administration."

Flynn is the pioneer canary, so helpful that Mueller writes that his early cooperation "likely affected the decisions of related firsthand witnesses to be forthcoming with the SCO and cooperate." The filing indicates Flynn helped with three criminal cases.

Garrett M. Graff, a Mueller biographer, writes for WIRED: "How closely related is the investigation of the 2016 election to the Trump Organization's financial scandals?"

The Michael Cohen plea agreement highlighted ... how little we know about the business holdings, income, business partners, or investors in Donald Trump's business empire. The first rule of any scandal is always the Watergate maxim: Follow the money. Who were (or are) Trump's business partners and what part of the 2016 election attack was played by any of them?"

Graff said on Sunday's "Reliable Sources": Trumpworld's lies "sort of fold in on themselves in this story, lies on top of lies ... So you don't even know which set of lies to believe ... I think the biggest challenge in this story is trying to connect all of these different dots, because we are really staring at the Mueller investigation through little soda straws or individual puzzle pieces, not really sure how everything connects."

On Friday, there will be the Paul Manafort sentencing memo. Trump's former campaign chairman was once a cooperating witness, but Mueller now accuses him of serial lying and, perhaps, transmitting info back to Trump's legal team.

Reporter Michael Isikoff of Yahoo News is the one who says the "endgame" is at hand: "The Manafort memo will be public. The Manafort memo has been requested by the federal judge in his case so that prosecutors could, for the first time, spell out what matters they believe Manafort has lied to them about. The fact that Mueller is planning a public filing about Manafort suggests he may no longer feel the need to withhold information about his case in order to bring additional indictments against others. That would be consistent with messages his prosecutors have given defense lawyers in recent weeks indicating that they are in the endgame of their investigation."

This week, America buried a one-term president. What the next week brings may be beyond comprehension. For this, those in the government, policy circles, media, and caring citizens must prepare and brace for the unknown. It stands to shape us moving forward. ❖

Sen. Young, from page 1

ever, those who would ignore or minimize the pattern of abuses by Saudi Arabia, including the murder of Khashoggi, risk undermining their own credibility when speaking out regarding the very real human rights abuses in Iran. The postponement of genuine justice for Khashoggi, the continuation of the Yemeni civil war, and the deepening of the humanitarian crisis there will only increase opportunities for Tehran to further its malign activities in the region.”

That statement and the fact that 14 Republicans voted to begin sanctions on Saudi Arabia were seen as warning shots for President Trump, who has cast doubts on U.S. intelligence assessments that MBS was involved. On Monday, after CIA Director Gina Haspel briefed a small group of senators, U.S. Sen. Lindsey Graham said he had a “high confidence” in the intel and added, “There’s not a smoking gun — there’s a smoking saw,” a reference to reports that one of MBS’s henchman showed up at the Saudi consulate in Istanbul with a bone saw that is believed to have been used to dismember Khashoggi, a graduate of Indiana State University.

On Wednesday, Young was part of a bipartisan group filing the bill sponsored by Sens. Graham and Dianne Feinstein. “This resolution — without equivocation — definitively states that the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia was complicit in the murder of Mr. Khashoggi and has been a wrecking ball to the region jeopardizing our national security interests on multiple fronts,” Sen. Graham said. “It will be up to Saudi Arabia as to how to deal with this matter. But it is up to the United States to firmly stand for who we are and what we believe.”

In this HPI Interview conducted Monday in Young’s downtown Indianapolis office, the freshman senator says he “trusts” U.S. intelligence assessments. Asked if he was offended by Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman and Russian President Putin’s high-fiving antics at the G20 summit in Buenos Aires last weekend — both are now known journalist killers — Young curtly said “yes.”

His Senate term enters its middle stretch with sensational events on the horizon. Beyond the Saudi conflict, Special Counsel Robert Mueller appears to be preparing the release of his Russian collusion probe, one which Young believes will eventually be accessible to the public.

He stressed his willingness to work in a bipartisan manner, noting that he is in the top 10% of the Lugar Center’s Bipartisan Index. A former staffer to U.S. Sen. Richard Lugar, Young is picking up one of his former mentor’s mantles, just selected as chair of the Republican National Senatorial Committee. Thus, Young becomes the partisan point man when the GOP will have to defend some 20 Senate seats, coinciding with a potential reelection bid by President Trump and Vice President Pence. Young told HPI that he reached out to Lugar, who chaired the senato-



rial committee in 1984, and the former senator ardently encouraged him to accept that chair. During his political career, Young has been a money-raising machine. His path to Congress is littered with defeated former members (former Reps. Mike Sodrel and Baron Hill in his 2010 pursuit of a U.S. House seat) and Reps. Marlin Stutzman and former Sen. Evan Bayh in his 2016 breakthrough to the U.S. Senate.

Here is our HPI Interview with Sen. Young:

HPI: Walk us through your stance with Saudi Arabia.

Young: I’ve been working since March of 2017 on this issue. There are four major famines of great concern to the international community: Yemen, Northeast Nigeria, south Sudan and Somalia. Yemen is actually the most serious humanitarian crisis since the 1940s, according to the United Nations. Fourteen million people are on the brink of starvation.

HPI: Is this a Saudi blockade?

Young: This is a man-made humanitarian crisis on account of an existing civil war going on for a period of years, significantly exacerbated by the Saudi-led blockade of the major port of Hodeidah, going on for a period of years, where 80% of food and medical supplies and energy are typically delivered. Also exacerbated by the indiscriminate targeting of civilians through air strikes and other violations of the laws of war. So, we have at once the largest humanitarian crisis in the world and a very significant security crisis. As Yemen continues to destabilize, Iran will get a stronger foothold in the country where they have aligned themselves with the Houthi movement, which is opposed to Saudi Arabia. And, as Yemenis are deprived of food and medical attention, they are radicalizing in a country that is the headquarters of al-Qaeda in the Arabian peninsula, the most dangerous affiliate of al-Qaeda, and where ISIS also has a presence.

Why should Hoosiers care about this? This is inconsistent with our values as a country and the world is watching, as we provide refueling assistance to Saudi aircraft, logistical assistance to their military operations, including the starvation of blockade they’ve been involved in, and intelligence assistance to Saudi Arabia. We should also be concerned about the national security implications of further destabilizing a country where the largest state sponsor of terror, Iran, has a major foothold.

HPI: I thought your statement last week was extraordinary. President Trump’s decision not to accept U.S. intelligence assessments of the Jamal Khashoggi murder and how that reflects on values, you just talked about American values and yet we have a president who seems to be equating our relationship with Saudi Arabia simply on financial terms as opposed to humanitarian or cultural concerns. What led you to make that statement? The Senate follows up this week to that vote last week.

Young: As a former Marine Corps intelligence of-

ficer, I've spent a lot of years relying on the work product of our intelligence professionals. I trust their work product. They don't always get it right, but they're the best in the world. That informs my work on this and on other issues. From the beginning of my work on this Yemeni humanitarian and security crisis, my point of emphasis has always been and remains to give the Trump administration enough leverage as is required to bring all parties to the table, so that a political settlement can be negotiated to this very complicated conflict. Because that's the only way we'll address the humanitarian needs of the Yemeni population and our own security needs.

HPI: As a journalist, I cannot tell you how appalling it was to watch that handshake or high-fiving between the Crown Prince and President Putin in Buenos Aires last weekend. Was that an affront to your sensibilities?

Young: Yes.

HPI: Since Helsinki, we've watched President Trump really dispute assessments by U.S. intelligence services on the Russian election meddling. He's met one on one with President Putin. When I was with Sen. Donnelly in August he told me he has no idea what the read-out was on that meeting and the national press has reported that National Intelligence Director Dan Coats doesn't know what Trump and Putin talked about. Do you know what they talked about? If you don't, does that bother you?



Young: I'm always wanting more information on what's going on in the world and the conversations that top leaders have. That will always be imperfect information I'll have. I can remember when President Obama made some whispering comments to then-President Medvedev of Russia that they discussed outside the microphones. Right? So, of course as a member of the Oversight Committee, I'm always concerned about such conversations. Vis-a-vis Russia, the Trump administration has been as vigilant as I can imagine with respect to their actual actions. President Trump and others in this administration, working with this Republican Congress, has sent heavy weaponry into Ukraine, to try and deter to the extent possible Russian encroachment. They have sent troops into Poland for rotational exercises and to help deter further Russian encroachment into Eastern Europe. They've regularly participated in military exercises in the Baltics. Within the cyber realm, they've been monitoring Russia's nefarious activities. And in the Middle East, we've done all we can recognizing the horrific realities of the situation in Syria, to check Russian adventurism there. So this is incredibly refreshing and ought to be encouraging to national security observers and analysts as they com-

pare this level of engagement to what we saw during the Obama administration. Now with that said, I don't want to create an impression that this is a partisan issue. I've worked very hard in the United States Senate to work with my Democratic colleagues.

HPI: They say Putin only really understands power. It appears he's cutting off 40% of Ukrainian exports through the Sea of Aзов. Do we have a growing crisis from the actions of a couple of Sundays ago?

Young: I don't know if it's a crisis, but here again working with our security partners, we need to continue to lead, send messages to Vladimir Putin and others around the world watching that every illicit action will be met with a reaction. We've already implemented robust sanctions against those who are close to Vladimir Putin and this may be an opportunity to level further sanctions. I admit there are diminishing returns on further sanctions, so sending our naval assets into the area may be something we consider doing. We, of course, want to measure an action against the risk of escalation that might occur. These things need to be carefully modulated. Again, I'm incredibly proud of the work our State Department, working with our Department of Defense and the commander-in-chief have done with respect to Russia.

HPI: When you were in the military, how many presidents did you serve under? Two or three?

Young: Just one, Clinton.

HPI: Watching you on "Morning Joe" the other day, you appear to be giving President Trump a broader bandwidth for how he formulates foreign policy. It's different than the two president Bushes, Clinton and Obama. Is that a challenge for you on how to react? And I have not pelted you with requests for reaction on every controversial thing President Trump does, says or tweets. Is this different how you formulate and give him a more unique space than you did with President Obama?

Young: Clearly, this president is a different sort of president than those I've served in my lifetime. That's one of the reasons the American people elected him. He communicates differently, he makes decisions differently. He wants to shape policy in different directions. I've not only accepted that, in many cases I embrace it. I credit this president with elevating to the top of our agenda to counter Chinese theft of our intellectual property. I credit this president with keeping his promises on multiple fronts, like ensuring border security is a priority and that we would, indeed, reform our tax code. So, I look for opportunities to work with this administration on a number of fronts. I'm very proud of our achievements for two years and much of that record is a bipartisan record of achievement, which is actually obscured much of the time.

HPI: Saturday night President Trump dined with his Chinese counterpart President Xi and they appeared to strike a 90-day truce in the tariff and trade war. I was with the soybean and corn farmers last week and many of them are meeting with their bankers in December and January to plan the 2019 seasons. They had hedges on prices this

year, but 2019 and 2020 will be different. President Trump will be dealing with the very same sort of intellectual property issues that President Bush 41 did a generation ago. What's your message to Hoosier farmers?

Young: I want to affirm the views of a vast majority of Hoosier farmers and those who live in rural communities that President Trump has identified legitimate grievances with Chinese predatory and economic practices. But I've seen, Brian, in your writing that you question whether or not the president and the administration more broadly have a clear plan for our trade strategy.

HPI: Do you think they do?

Young: That's why I've introduced legislation that would require the administration to provide a coherent, comprehensive, written national economic security strategy that lays out for all to see precisely what the plan is. I think this would be a very helpful tool for members of Congress, so we could provide oversight for our trade policy and other economic policies moving forward. I think it would be helpful to have outside stakeholders to provide critical analysis of that plan and I think it would be a powerful signaling device for our allies and adversaries alike about what the consequences of illicit economic activities will be. We have a national security strategy. It's written and periodically produced, quite helpful to our country, and helps us rally around a particular security strategy in a bipartisan way. We're able to typically achieve a level of consensus about what a security strategy should look like. I think the very same thing with our economic strategy would be quite helpful to our country.

HPI: You mentioned you've worked in a bipartisan manner. What are the highlights of these efforts in your first two years?

Young: I spent the first two years in the Senate developing as many close relationships as I could on both sides of the aisle. We've already seen that is paying dividends. I've passed into law an entirely new model of social service delivery in this country through our Social Impact Partnership legislation. President Trump signed it into law. This will enable the least among us to be served through evidenced-based practices currently being delivered by non-profit and for-profit entities, using private capital to scale up these approaches around Indiana and other parts of the country. Lives will be improved, thus saving taxpayers a whole lot of money on government services in the process. That's an example of working with my Democratic colleagues.

Another example is housing policy. I had no idea this was on the minds of Hoosiers and others around the country in such a significant way. The lack of affordable housing across income groups is a real barrier, not just to people not realizing their dreams and moving up the economic ladder, but also employers as they look to attract new hires into their community. I launched an initiative called the Fair Shot Agenda. I've visited some of the most distressed areas of the state. The lack of affordable housing stock is not just leading to homelessness and eviction

rates. We've got three cities in the top 20 in the country in terms of eviction rates: South Bend, Fort Wayne and Indianapolis. It's also preventing people from moving into Jasper, Ind., where there is a real dearth of labor supply because there is not enough housing. It's preventing people from moving into Warsaw and taking jobs up there.

Retirement security is another area that I've been working in a bipartisan way, very actively with Cory Booker, to ensure that as this population ages and there's increas-



ing strain on our Social Security system, people are saving more for their own retirement. Another one that comes to mind is opioids. We in Congress have authorized a number of evidence-based programs to address this scourge. We've dedicated billions of dollars to address this challenge as well. I've gotten six bills in which I was a leader, passed. Here again, working in a bipartisan way to get them done.

As I look forward, there will be other meaningful opportunities as well. Infrastructure comes to mind as one possibility. The State of Indiana, as the "Crossroads of America," has significant surface transportation needs, but we also have needs when it comes to rail, ports and inland transportation, rural broadband, airports and other areas. As a member of the Commerce Committee, I look forward to playing an out-sized role there.

We need to reauthorize the Higher Education Act. I've spent the better part of two years coming up with creative ideas, working with college presidents, financial analysts and even many student groups to determine the best way to fund higher education, upskill our workforce, retrain existing workers and make sure when people enter the workforce after their K-12 experience, they are ready to go and meaningfully participate in what is a growing economy.

HPI: You've got a new colleague coming into the Indiana delegation with Mike Braun. I know you worked well with Sen. Donnelly. You've got Braun who spent a good part of the campaign talking about what he did in his company with regard to health reforms. One of the things he said, if we're going to repeal Obamacare – which you

voted for – we’re going to have to replace it with something. Do you look forward to working with Sen. Braun on what comes next with Obamacare? Because, to tell you the truth, my small business has been socked with skyrocketing insurance rates. My premiums have gone from \$400 a month to close to \$1,000. It’s a major problem.

Young: I really look forward to working with Mike Braun. He has an incredibly impressive professional background and has professional experience in dealing with health care issues, and I believe he’ll be able to add some value as we tackle this issue. I’m a member of the Health Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee. We will be intently focused on this issue in the next two years and beyond. I think we need to move beyond the conversation about health insurance reform and discuss health care more broadly. Health care innovation will be essential if we’re going to drive down the cost of care and increase access to care. There are other creative things we need to consider that have not been part of the conversation.

For example, how might we empower the consumer with health care transparency so you can have a functioning market? This is an issue fraught with complexities. There are a number of different computer systems out there that aren’t speaking with one another. If we can order a procedure and give them the information they need to make informed health care decisions through transparency initiatives, that would be quite helpful.

We have had some significant accomplishments with regard to health care. We were able to in a bipartisan way achieve the longest expansion in the Children’s Health Insurance Program in history. We repealed the individual mandate tax, which was highly regressive. Here in the State of Indiana, 85% of that tax was paid by those who have a household income of \$50,000 or less and half of that demographic had a household income of less than \$25,000 or less. The structure of that mandate was something that was unpopular with Hoosiers and unfair. There have been, despite the narrative, a lot of successes, but we’ve got a lot of work to do.

HPI: President Trump is signaling he wants to again meet with Kim Jong Un. I think one of the most alarming interviews I’ve ever done was with you in the summer of 2017 when you said that people need to wrap their heads around the potential for a nuclear war. We seem to have pulled back from that significantly. Talk about how we have pulled back and what the opportunities are now.

Young: I still remain convinced this administration deserves some credit from pivoting away from the campaign of strategic patience with Kim Jong Un and moving toward a campaign of strategic pressure.

HPI: He’s not lobbing missiles over Japan any more.

Young: That’s right. We had to rattle the cage a little bit and try something new because, as you indicated, he was not only improving his missile technology and miniaturizing his nuclear weapons, he was testing them on a regular basis. I think the president is to be commended for taking some arrows and trying a different approach. This is one of those situations, as with so many when you’re dealing with foreign relations, that can’t necessarily be solved but can be managed. This is something my former boss, Sen. Lugar, emphasized to me at one time. I’ve thought about it ever since. We Americans are problem-solvers. We like to think there is a solution for every challenging global problem as well as domestic problems. As conservatives, we need to approach many of these with a great deal of humility.



HPI: The news is cascading in almost a sensational manner on the Mueller Russia collusion probe. There’ve been moves in the Senate to protect Robert Mueller to allow him to finish his investigation. You’ve urged me as a journalist to be patient and await his report. So, a two-prong question: Are you confident the administration is going to allow him to reach his conclusions and issue a report? Do we need to worry about him being fired?

Second, tell Hoosiers how they should process what’s just over the horizon, because it’s going to dominate the news.

Young: I recommend that Hoosiers watch less television and understand that there are a lot of us on Capitol Hill and a lot of us close to the president advising the administration to continue to cooperate at every turn with Mueller, all with the understanding that a fair and unbiased report will be forthcoming as quickly as possible.

HPI: So you don’t see the need for legislation to protect Mueller and the investigation?

Young: I think the president understands what so many other senators have said.

HPI: Like Sen. Graham?

Young: Those close to the president are telling him it would not be a good decision to fire any of the principals to this investigation.

HPI: Any reaction to the piecemeal information we have been getting? How are you processing this?

Young: I do think it’s troubling that so much of this information is leaking out.

HPI: It’s not leaking out. We’re learning things via indictments, plea deals and court filings.

Young: There have also been on background and off the record, unsourced comments that have been made. I’m withholding judgment on the bigger picture until I’m briefed in a classified setting and then am able to digest the entire report. ❖

President Bush41 had a big Indiana impact

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – It isn't an easy thing to get a former president to headline a state party dinner, but Mike McDaniel pulled it off in 1999. Former President George H.W. Bush was on the bill as the keynote.

McDaniel went to the airport to pick up Bush and the first thing the former president said was, "OK, who's for my son in Indiana and who's not?"

Bush's vice president, Dan Quayle, had already declared for the 2000 race, but there was momentum gathering for Texas Gov. George W. Bush. "Well," McDaniel said, "Doc Bowen's for Dan Quayle ..."

"How can Doc Bowen be for Dan Quayle?" an incredulous Bush asked. Well, the GOP chairman said, he's from Indiana. "He's doing it because he's a Hoosier." To which Bush responded, "Dan Quayle lives in Arizona."

The Bush political dynasty would change Indiana politically, going back to 1980 when after Ronald Reagan flirted with the idea of bringing former President Gerald Ford on the ticket, it appeared Sen. Richard Lugar might be The One. L. Keith Bulen was in charge of Reagan's New England campaign and had propelled Lugar onto the national stage. But as we know, Reagan opted for Bush, changing the trajectory of national politics.

The two would forge the modern apex of the American Republican Party, sidelining President Carter in 1980, retaking the U.S. Senate that year, and extending GOP White House control for 12 years. Running in 1988, Bush picked Quayle for the ticket and made one of the most fateful calls in American politics, telling the national convention, "Read my lips, no new taxes."

It was not a vow that Bush 41 would keep, opting instead for a budget deal that included a minimal tax increase (less than Reagan would seek during his second term) with corresponding spending cuts from Democrats. While Reagan had a GOP Senate for six of his eight years, Bush had a Democratic Congress in his entire term. It would doom Bush's reelection bid in 1992, when he lost to Bill Clinton. However, Bush's fateful decision led to a decade of prosperity, and even a budget surplus.

It ignited a new generation of conservative talk radio with people like Rush Limbaugh. It launched Newt Gingrich on his trajectory to a GOP House takeover in 1994. It made almost any talk of any kind of tax hike politically lethal. And it elevated George W. Bush to the White House, clipping Quayle in 1999 and John McCain in 2000, launch-

ing an era when Bushes and Clintons dominated national politics, the two clans winning five presidential elections, while losing two others, including Donald Trump's stunning upset over Hillary Clinton in 2016.

President Bush 41 presided over the end of the Cold War with the collapse of the Berlin Wall and then the Soviet Union, rolled back Iraqi aggression with the reconquest of Kuwait in 1991 via Operation Desert Storm, signed the historic Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) that opened access in public spaces to millions of citizens. There was the Clean Air Act and on Dec. 12, 1991, Bush signed the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Act, which was a historic effort between once-arch rivals to contain nuclear, chemical and biological weapons in the



Former Indiana GOP Chairman Mike McDaniel and the bill for the 1999 state dinner.

dissolved Soviet Union from reaching the hands of terror networks and other malefactors. Never in world history had such an enemy peacefully stepped in to work with an adversary for the safety of mankind. Not a shot was fired. Instead of the dreaded big bang, the Soviet Union ended in a whimper.

Bush 41 backed the reunification of Germany (France, Great Britain and Russia all were vehemently op-

posed), and refused to gloat, fearing it would be an affront to Mikhail Gorbachev and his successor, Boris Yeltsin.

The Reagan/Bush years reshaped turn of the century America and the world in profound ways as the U.S. emerged as the sole superpower that would stand unchallenged until the emergence of China during this century's second decade.

Americans and Hoosiers would eventually reject the Bushes and Clintons. HPI remembers seeing a sign in New Salisbury, Ind., in 2015: "No more Clintons or Bushes" and that created the environment for the emergence of Donald Trump, who in turn elevated Indiana Gov. Mike Pence to the national ticket.

Vice President Pence paid tribute to President Bush shortly after he returned to the U.S. Capitol to lie in state on Monday. "President Bush was a great leader who made a great difference in the life of this nation. But he was also just a good man who was devoted to his wife, his family, and his friends," Pence said. "I was lucky enough to meet him in 1988 when he was vice president and I was a 29-year-old just getting started in politics. Then, as always, I was struck by his approachability. There was a kindness about the man that was evident to everyone who ever met him. All his years in public service were characterized by kindness, modesty, and patriotism. He was so modest in fact, that he never wrote an autobiography. But he did leave a record of his life in the thousands of letters that he wrote."

Pence added, "President Bush described CAVU, in his words, as 'the kind of weather we Navy pilots wanted when we were to fly off our carrier in the Pacific.' And he once wrote a letter to his children saying that CAVU, in his words, 'describes my own life as it has been over the years, as it is right now: Ceiling and Visibility Unlimited.' You know, that may well describe the essence of this man. And it may well have been his vision. The vision he had for his life, for his children, his children's children, and his country: No barriers, no boundaries, no limits."

"**This idea that he was** just this humble, modest guy isn't really accurate," Quayle said in an interview Saturday with IndyStar. "He was confident and determined. He never raised his voice, he had great respect for people, ... not because he was humble and modest ... but confident and determined, a winner.

"When you pushed him into a corner, he got tough," Quayle said. "You don't become a winner like that if you aren't tough."

When Bush sought the presidency on his own after two terms as President Reagan's vice president, he was consigned by Washington Post columnist George Will as a "lap dog" and a "wimp." While working as a reporter at the Elkhart Truth, I received a call from a sailor from the USS Finback, which was nearby after Bush was shot down



President George H.W. Bush with Vice President Dan Quayle, President Reagan and Chairman Gorbachev; and Mike McDaniel in his museum/office.

on Sept. 2, 1944, while flying a mission over Chichi Jima. Bush had floated on a raft for several hours and was surprised to see the sub surface for his rescue. He spent the next month with the crew, which took him back to Hawaii. The sailor's take: George H.W. Bush was anything but a wimp. He was a true American hero.

For Chairman Mike McDaniel, Bush was a GOP asset made in heaven. Prior to that 1999 keynote, McDaniel escorted Bush to a room at the Westin. The chairman had a cache of memorabilia to sign. It was one of those, "I hate to ask, but..." things. Bush would "sign every piece," McDaniel said.

To McDaniel, Bush was a gentleman who almost never said the word "I." McDaniel sees Bush as a vanishing breed as truth falls away into lies, while modesty and humility seem to be archaic concepts. ❖

Finally, Hogsett kicks off his reelection bid

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett ended the suspense Wednesday, announcing he will seek a second term in 2019. At the same time, informed and reliable sources tell HPI that Hogsett has said he will not challenge Gov. Eric Holcomb in 2020.



"When I took office nearly three years ago, I pledged to focus on public safety, neighborhoods, and the fiscal stability of our city. And together, we're making

progress on these issues, and many more," Hogsett said at his campaign kickoff at the Phoenix Theater. "We're investing in our young people, growing our economy, and Moody's just announced that they're upgrading the city's credit outlook. And I'm proud that we accomplished all of this not through divisiveness but through collaboration. This year, my budget proposal passed not just with bipartisan support but with unanimous support from the City Council. I think together we can achieve even more for Indy -- which is why I'm running for a second term.

"I've never before been more confident that our community is capable and committed to doing just that -- moving Indianapolis forward as one city," Hogsett said. "Tonight I stand before you to announce that I will be honored to work with all of you for another four years, as the mayor of the great city of Indianapolis."

State Sen. Jim Merritt is expected to challenge the Democrat Hogsett. "Nearly three years ago, and with great fanfare, Joe Hogsett became Mayor of Indianapolis," Merritt said. "Since then our City has seen our infrastructure crumble and our neighborhoods shaken by record-setting homicides. Sadly the self-described 'public safety Mayor' has been anything but. With today's seemingly reluctant decision to seek re-election, we look forward to a robust discussion on his record and how new leadership can make our city a safer and a more vibrant place to raise a family and pursue your dreams."

Republicans Christopher Moore and John Schmitz have declared, but have little experience. Former councilman Jose Evans and State Rep. Cindy Kirchofer are mulling a run. In 2015, the former secretary of state defeated obscure Republican Chuck Brewer with 62%, winning 92,521 to 56,320. He ran on a law and order platform, though the city has been plagued by record homicide rates during his term.



Hamilton launches Bloomington reelection

Bloomington Mayor John Hamilton announced he is running for re-election in 2019 before 100 supporters Tuesday. ([Indiana Public Media](#)). "It's actually kind of in the middle of the holiday season but I felt it was appropriate to step forward to say I do believe we're making very good progress as a community," Hamilton says. "Very privileged to work with wonderful staff and wonderful community and want to keep that momentum going."

Turnout was 52% in mid-terms

Secretary of State Connie Lawson announced that 51% or 2,308,258 of Indiana's 4.5 million registered voters cast a vote in the Nov. 6 General Election. The complete 2018 General Election Turnout and Absentee Chart with voter statistics for each county can be viewed by [clicking here](#). "This is the highest midterm turnout in over two decades," said Lawson. "The last time we saw a midterm with turnout in the 50s was in 1994." Early voting popularity continues to soar. In 2014, only 16% of voters cast a ballot early. This year, that number was doubled to 32%. Henry County had the highest turnout in the state at 64%. They were followed by Spencer County at 62%.

Crystal Ball rates Holcomb solid favorite

From today's Sabato's Crystal Ball: Indiana, Missouri, and North Dakota all decided to vote out their incumbent Democratic senators last month, a sign of how all of these states have become more Republican lately. Each also has an incumbent GOP governor whose ascension to the top job in their respective states was at least a little surprising. In North Dakota, Gov. Doug Burgum (R) came seemingly out of nowhere to overwhelm long-serving state Attorney General Wayne Stenehjem (R) in the 2016 primary and then easily win the general, demonstrating once again the appeal of outsider businessmen in GOP primary politics. In the Hoosier State, Gov. Eric Holcomb (R), a former Indiana Republican Party chairman, began the 2016 cycle trying to win the Republican Senate nomination. His campaign never got much traction and he left the race, but he ended up becoming lieutenant governor under then-Gov. Mike Pence (R) after the previous lieutenant governor resigned. Pence then dropped his bid for a second term when he became Trump's running mate, and the state party replaced Pence with Holcomb, who then won by half a dozen points in November 2016. And in Missouri, now-former Gov. Eric Greitens (R) resigned under duress earlier this year amidst the fallout of various scandals, putting now-Gov. Mike Parson (R), the separately-elected lieutenant governor, in charge. Ultimately, all three of these governors start as significant favorites, although Parson may have the most to prove given that he was not elected to his current job in his own right. ❖

‘Tariff Man’ and the coming trade impacts

By BRIAN A. HOWEY

INDIANAPOLIS – Last Friday, Hoosier farmers had a reason to be optimistic, with word that President Trump and Chinese President Xi were on the brink of a yuuuuuuge deal on trade and tariffs as they prepared to dine in Buenos Aires at the G20. When Sunday dawned, (viola!) there was a 90-day trade cease fire.

As part of the deal, China agreed to buy “a very substantial amount of agricultural, energy, industrial, and other product from the United States to reduce the trade imbalance between our two countries,” White House press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders said in a statement. Trump added, “This was an amazing and productive meeting with unlimited possibilities for both the United States and China. It is my great honor to be working with President Xi.”

The markets were buoyed on Monday, and then came Tuesday. That’s when “Tariff Man” re-emerged. That kind of presidential rhetoric could gin up cheers at a MAGA rally in Fort Wayne or Evansville, but can be chilling for those around a negotiating table. The reports were that Trump was moving hardliners like Robert Lighthizer into position as key negotiator, with the Chinese wavering on the timeline, which is a significant concern if you’re a farmer, meeting with your banker and trying to come up with a 2019 planting strategy.

“I am a Tariff Man,” Trump declared in a tweet. “When people or countries come in to raid the great wealth of our Nation, I want them to pay for the privilege of doing so. It will always be the best way to max out our economic power. We are right now taking in \$billions in Tariffs. MAKE AMERICA RICH AGAIN.”

The markets, in search of certainty and stability convulsed. The Dow sank 700 points on Tuesday (and were closed on the national day of mourning Wednesday) with the Associated Press reporting, “The wave of selling erased the market’s gains from a day earlier, when stocks rallied on news the U.S. and China had agreed to a temporary truce in their trade dispute. Investors’ confidence in that truce appeared to falter Tuesday, contributing to renewed fears about a slowing global economy.”

“The actual amount of concrete progress made at this meeting appears to have been quite limited,” Alec Phillips and other economists at Goldman Sachs wrote in a research note, according to AP.

Hoosier Ag Today reported that U.S. farm income is expected to decrease by 12.1% in 2019, according to

USDA estimates while net cash farm income is forecast to decline 8.4%.

By Wednesday, Trump tweeted, “Very strong signals being sent by China once they returned home from their long trip, including stops, from Argentina. Not to sound naive or anything, but I believe President Xi meant every word of what he said at our long and hopefully historic meeting. ALL subjects discussed!”

NBC’s Meet The Press Daily noted on Wednesday, “Remember, this trade/tariff standoff with China is a crisis that Trump CREATED, and it’s a crisis that he ultimately might not be able to solve, because he doesn’t understand that tariffs mean higher prices for American business and consumers.”

How tough a nut will this be? Wall Street Journal columnist Gerald Seib notes that the same issues Trump is taking on were also on the dock when President George H.W. Bush was in office.

Seib writes: “The Republican White House, responding to business complaints of Chinese theft of intellectual property and trade secrets, launches the process for imposing tariffs on China’s imports. That threat sparks a flurry of high-level negotiations with the Chinese government,

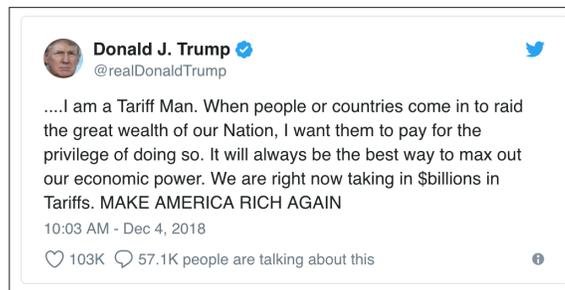
which in turn agrees to take a series of corrective steps, including a new patent law and copyright-protection regulations. The Chinese promises are enshrined in a memorandum of understanding with the U.S., and the White House backs away from the tariffs. No, this is not a prediction of how the current trade confrontation between the Trump administration and China will be resolved happily. Rather, it’s a description of what happened 26 years ago, when China and the first Bush administration were engaged in a trade dispute remarkably similar to today’s, except that the stakes then were much smaller.”

Seib continues: “The optimism created by that 1992 agreement soon turned to disillusionment. Within three years, American businesses were having ‘serious and unabating’ intellectual-property problems, the U.S. government’s General Accounting Office reported, adding: ‘U.S. business representatives, especially the copyright industries...reported that widespread infringement of their works occurs, with inadequate channels for recourse.’ Tariffs again were threatened, this time by the Clinton White House.

“A quarter-century later, the same issues are still on the table.”

The Chinese still behave the same way. They’re just stronger now. Trump is trying to retrain historic misbehavior. Farmers love that he’s trying.

The political impacts are critical here. The Trump base is Hoosier farm country, extending across the lower Midwest, South and Great Plains. They took a hit this year, though futures, hedges, a \$12 billion bailout from Trump



and a bountiful harvest gave them a buffer. Those guard-rails won't be in place between now and 2020.

Or as one influential Indiana Republican told me, "Farmers are going to have to have a good year in one of the two coming years." Otherwise, the base implodes.

So "Tariff Man" is on the clock. But it comes as he faces the onslaught of Special Counsel Robert Mueller's nearing end game, which will consume vast portions of his attention span. It comes as the Fed has been raising interest rates, and the beat of an inevitable recession draws nearer. ❖

Bush41 is moving up the presidential ranks

By JACK COLWELL

SOUTH BEND – Long before all the recent tributes to George H.W. Bush, before all those nice things said about him after his death, he was moving up quickly and deservedly in the ranking of presidents.

Not up there among the ones historians traditionally rate as the greatest presidents, Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, the two Roosevelts and Thomas Jefferson. But the 41st president, defeated for re-election and



leaving office with low approval, has climbed well into the top half in the ranking of presidents on lists of evaluations by historians.

Sure, much of the high praise now for Bush, for his civility, decency, upholding of presidential dignity and ability to achieve bipartisan agreements at home and coalitions abroad, is enhanced by comparing with the present.

But before there was a President Trump in the White House for comparison, Bush was moving up in esteem as historians evaluated what he did in a single term.

George Herbert Walker Bush did a lot.

He steered the nation, indeed, the world through the perilous times of the collapse of the Soviet Union, still with its nuclear might, and worked with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to free nations held under Soviet domination, bring about reunification of Germany and promote stability in Europe.

Even two things for which he was ridiculed turned out to have been smart decisions.

One was the Persian Gulf War in 1991, when he put together a coalition that drove Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait and shattered Iraqi forces. Some critics complained that he didn't send forces to Baghdad to "finish the job."

His son, President George W. Bush, who doesn't do so well in presidential rankings, mistakenly took Baghdad and took on a bungled nation-building effort that proved terribly costly in lives and deficit spending. It left

Iran as the real winner in the region.

The approach of the first President Bush avoided high casualties and need for occupation and brought coalition financial contributions that paid for the effort.

A second area of ridicule was over his budget agreement with Democrats in Congress to deal with growing deficits by raising taxes on the wealthy to pay the bills.

He had in his nomination acceptance speech spoken six famous words: "Read my lips. No new taxes."

Economists look back on the stabilization in that budget package as paving the way for economic gains and deficit reductions in the 1990s.

The irony is that President Bill Clinton, who beat Bush by blaming him for an economy that actually was starting to improve, then enjoyed the prosperity that continued and the deficit reductions that continued until the second President Bush sent the deficit skyrocketing.

As the presidential rankings shift, Bush 41 goes up, Bush 43 stays down and Clinton slips a bit.

Presidents never stay in the rankings where the public might place them as they leave office.

For example, John F. Kennedy, thought of as great by so many as they mourned his assassination, has been declining in ranking as historians view what he actually accomplished in his unfinished term. Harry Truman, with dismal approval ratings as he left office, keeps moving up as historians evaluate his decisions in bringing World War II to a close and dealing with threats from Russia and China. Truman finished far ahead of Kennedy in one recent presidential ranking by historians.

While not claiming that George H.W. Bush ranks among the greatest, James Baker, former secretary of state and long-time Bush adviser, has called him "the best one-term president the country has ever had."

Even before Bush's accomplishments became more appreciated, no evaluation by historians ever put him in the bottom ranks, certainly never challenging James Buchanan for the traditional last-place ranking. Whether Buchanan will remain secure in his place is not now certain. ❖

Colwell has covered Indiana politics over five decades for the South Bend Tribune.

Holcomb's agenda will focus on kids, safety

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Gov. Eric Holcomb will unveil his 2019 Next Level Agenda that will be heavy with investments protecting Hoosier kids and students, with three events beginning at 11 a.m. today at the Statehouse South Atrium. He will then hit the road, with stops at 3 p.m. at

Trader's Point Creamery in Zionsville and at the Joseph Decuis Farm in Columbia City at 1 p.m. Friday.



Informed and reliable sources tell HPI that the governor's commitment to rectify the

deficiencies at the Department of Child Services will heavily shape the coming 2019 biennial budget. One source said that the commitment to DCS will mean less funding available in other areas.

The governor commissioned three studies this year, with the Child Welfare Policy and Practice Group issuing a number of recommendations last June. That report described a "culture of fear" at DCS, and Holcomb immediately pumped in \$25 million, most of which increased caseworker salaries in an effort to increase employee retention. That came on top of a \$285 million commitment Holcomb made during the current fiscal year.

Holcomb also launched studies on school safety and potential interstate tolling. Holcomb is passing on instituting tolls, angering former House Roads & Transportation Chairman Ed Soliday. He has already made moves on school safety investments and those are likely to continue in the 2019 General Assembly session.

The school safety study was released last August and it prompted Holcomb to issue a call for schools to sign up for metal detectors, with 369 schools requesting 3,231 metal detectors. Holcomb also made \$35 million in low-interest loans available to schools to increase school safety through the Indiana Common School Fund.

"To remain a national leader in school safety, Indiana must address gaps in areas that go beyond hardening our buildings and training to respond to incidents," the group said in its report that featured more access to mental health services and better information sharing as consistent themes. Other recommendations included: The expansion of mental health services with a potential large budgetary footprint (including mental health screening in schools); increasing funds for local law enforcement in schools; more safety grant funding flexibility; and a requirement for more active shooter drills.

So in addition to the DCS investments, Holcomb appears ready to prioritize school safety, foster parenting, as well as lowering the state's infant mortality rate.

WRTV reported that Holcomb also is concerned about "teenage homegrown violent extremists in Indiana schools," according to a Nov. 17 Indiana Department of Homeland Security report.

"The Governor of Indiana, IDHS, the FBI and the NCTC remain concerned about the potential for teenage HVE's to conduct attacks inside the state or violence targeting a school with little to no warning," the report states. "IDHS continues to urge vigilance and to report suspicious activities to law enforcement."

Reporter Dan Carden of the NWI Times reported on Tuesday that Holcomb will be seeking funds to reduce infant mortality. Holcomb told participants at a capital city "Labor of Love" infant mortality summit that the issue will be "a top priority" on the 2019 legislative agenda. "Improving infant mortality, or as (State Health Commissioner) Dr. (Kristina) Box describes it, getting more babies to celebrate their first birthdays, is right at the top of our list," Holcomb said. In 2016, 623 Indiana babies died before their first birthdays. Babies die for any number of complex reasons. Many were delivered prematurely or low weight. Poverty, stress, nutrition, pollution and access to health care all can be contributing factors.

Holcomb said he's challenged Box and Dr. Jennifer



Walthall, secretary of the Indiana Family and Social Services Administration (FSSA), to make Indiana "the best state in the Midwest for infant mortality by 2024."

"It's a tall order," Holcomb said.

The bright and shiny objects, such as medicinal marijuana, will generate headlines, but are not likely to become part of Holcomb's agenda. Holcomb is on record saying that the federal Food & Drug Administration (FDA) would have to remove marijuana from its Schedule 1 status before he would sign any medicinal legislation. There will be some pressure on state lawmakers on this front, with Michigan approving recreational use beginning today, and Illinois and Ohio poised to move toward recreational legalization in 2019. Indiana currently spends funds on interdiction, prosecution and corrections, while other states are finding new revenue streams from this growing commodity.

Holcomb is also prioritizing hate crime legislation with Republican Sens. Ron Altling and Mike Bohacek authoring the bill.

There has been some speculation that Holcomb may move on two Statehouse constitutional offices. The Indiana Chamber has called for the attorney general to become an appointed position, following earlier moves to make the superintendent of public instruction a gubernatorial appointee beginning in 2024. But Supt. Jennifer McCormick's abrupt decision earlier this year not to seek

reelection in 2020 gives Holcomb the opportunity to push that timeline up to 2020.

As for Attorney General Curtis Hill, Holcomb's call for him to resign still stands, but sources say the governor is not likely push legislation aimed at the embattled Republican. Nor are we detecting any appetite for impeachment in the two majority caucuses. ❖

Where were you born?

By **MORTON MARCUS**

INDIANAPOLIS – Charlene Curio is a journalism student on her first off-campus interview. "Why do you write this weekly newspaper column?" she asks.

"To introduce Hoosiers to their state," I respond.

"It was an idea of newspaper editors at a dinner in 1990 that became reality the next year. As I traveled the state I realized folks everywhere knew little about Indiana's economy and population. Newspapers then, as today, focused on local sports, crime, and politics. They didn't provide much information about the state and how what happens in one region compares to other areas."

"What should Hoosiers know about Indiana they don't

already know?" Charlene asks.

"Where were you born?" I ask her.

"In Indiana," she replies with neither pride nor embarrassment.

"And that's the answer 68% of the people living in Indiana would give to that same question," I tell her. "There are only 10 states with a higher percent of persons living in their state of birth. The top five are Louisiana (78%) followed by Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Mississippi. Altogether, 59% of Americans live in their state of birth."

"Who's on the bottom of that list?" Charlene asks for her notes.

"**Nevada (26%), Florida** and Arizona, the retirement states," I answer. "Once again, the baby boom reshapes America."

Now Charlene is in the flow, "Well, if 68% of Hoosiers were born in Indiana, where do the rest of the people come from?"

"Mainly," I say, "from the four states bordering Indiana. Illinois, Kentucky, Ohio and Michigan together have given us 917,000 of their sons and daughters or 14% of our 2017 population according to the U.S. Census Bureau."

"In total," I continue, "26% of today's Hoosiers were born in another state and 384,000 (6%) were foreign-born. Our 6% is well under the 15% national figure."

Charlene takes this all in and then demonstrates her good journalism and arithmetic training: "Where do the people born in Indiana and alive now currently live?"

"**We are, as you know**, a net loser of people," I say. "We have 1,750,000 people living in Indiana who were born in another state, but there are 2,040,000, 31% of the Hoosier-born, now living in a different state. It's a net, but natural loss of 290,000 persons."

"How can you label that a 'natural' loss?" Charlene protests. "It's not the 290,000, but the more than two million we should be thinking about. When did they leave? Shortly after birth, after high school, after college, for another job, or for retirement? It makes a difference!"

"We don't have those data," I plead. "And what if we did? We can't stop Americans from moving where they will. Plus, who knows how to stop their children from seeking something better elsewhere?"

As she leaves, I hear her mumble, "... fuddy-duddy thinking inside a box." ❖

Mr. Marcus is an economist. Reach him at mortonj-marcus@yahoo.com. Follow his views and those of John Guy on "Who gets what?" wherever podcasts are available or atmortonjohn.libsyn.com



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YOUR FRIENDS ALL HANG OUT HERE... DO YOU?

The meaning of patriotism

By **LEE HAMILTON**

BLOOMINGTON – Patriotism has been on a lot of people’s minds lately. French President Emanuel Macron recently criticized President Trump and other world leaders for their “us versus them” view of patriotism. “By putting our own interests first,” he said, “with no regard for others, we erase the very thing that a nation holds dearest, and the thing that keeps it alive: Its moral values.”



Meanwhile, just ahead of the midterm elections, The New York Times noted that two clashing visions of patriotism were heading to the polls. President Trump and Republicans saw patriotism as “conspicuous displays of respect for the traditional expressions of America — the flag, the military, the Pledge of Allegiance.” Democrats, by contrast, saw it as protecting

the norms and institutions of our democracy.

I don’t entirely buy this distinction, at least when it comes to partisan labels. I’ve known plenty of Democrats who consider it patriotic to honor the flag, the military, and the Pledge. And I’ve known a lot of Republicans who value our democratic traditions.

The vast majority of Americans consider themselves patriots — even if, as Gallup found in June, less than half of poll respondents considered themselves “extremely proud” to be American. This was the first time this has happened in almost two decades of polling on the question.

The two broad strands outlined by The Times inarguably exist. We all remember the naval hero Stephen Decatur’s famous toast in 1816, “Our country, right or wrong.” And Senator Carl Schurz’s amendment a half-century later: “My country, right or wrong — if right, to be kept right, if wrong, to be set right.” We may criticize our country, in other words, but this is not motivated by malice. It’s motivated by special affection and a belief that a great country can be made greater.

“**There is nothing** wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America,” President Clinton argued, laying out a vision of patriotism that is not about symbols, but about building on a nation’s intangible strengths.

I buy that. I believe that

patriotism means getting on with the serious business of improving our country. It means that we strive to ensure that we live up to our pledge of liberty and justice for all. In this formulation, patriotism is best expressed not in parades or speeches or exhortations or conspicuous displays, but in what we do.

Perhaps the most persuasive description I’ve heard on this score was Adlai Stevenson’s. “True patriotism is not manifested in short, frenzied bursts of emotion,” he said. “It is the tranquil, steady dedication of a lifetime.”

Stevenson hit the nail square on the head. So much of our national discussion of patriotism is about military heroes. This is important, but it’s an incomplete view of love of country. I’d argue that we encounter patriotism at all levels of American life. The teacher in the classroom, the parents who raise their children to be good citizens, the clerk who keeps town records and helps people vote, the ordinary working person who goes about her tasks with dedication and proficiency; patriotism can be found everywhere in our communities, among all kinds of people who pursue their lives with the good of the country at heart.

We have inherited a magnificent political legacy, a set of customs and traditions and, yes, moral values that give ordinary people the tools and power to improve life for themselves and succeeding generations. Patriotism lies in our efforts to enlarge that legacy so that it applies to all citizens. It means we defend civil liberties, the right to dissent, and the equality before the law of all Americans.

And it means that upholding our core values — tolerance, mutual respect, the right of everyone to be heard, the belief that in pursuing our own lives and interests we all are capable of contributing to the vibrancy of our democracy — is every bit as patriotic as placing our hand over our heart while reciting the Pledge. ❖

Lee Hamilton is a Senior Advisor for the Indiana University Center on Representative Government; a Distinguished Scholar of the IU Hamilton Lugar School of Global and International Studies; and a Professor of Practice, IU School of Public and Environmental Affairs. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 34 years.



CONTENT BY CARTER
strategic content creation and deployment

GM layoffs a warning to Indiana work policy

By MICHAEL HICKS

MUNCIE — Last week, General Motors announced significant layoffs across both its salaried staff and production workers. This should come as no surprise. Through government bailout GM was spared the deep structural changes needed in 2007-2009, so it was inevitable that



new leadership would have to make some tough choices. We should expect more of the same, but this column is not about corporate downsizing. Rather it is about fundamental economic conditions surrounding factory job losses, and how poorly we are facing these inevitable challenges.

First, the U.S. will continue to face a declining share of manufacturing employment. Our current run of factory job

growth is likely near its end, leaving us far short of our 2007 levels. Factory jobs are not coming back and manufacturing employment will be a much smaller share of U.S. jobs in five, 10, 50 and 100 years than they are now. Expectations to the contrary reflect stubborn ignorance.

To be clear, manufacturing production will long be important to Indiana, but its days of growing employment were over nearly a half century ago. Economic development strategies that mention factory employment growth are themselves exercises in stubborn, willful ignorance.

The second lesson is about the job losses themselves. For workers in Michigan, Ohio and Maryland, this will be a tough season. As for most of us, a period of unemployment is part of life's vicissitudes. It is tough, but hardly akin to family illnesses, military deployments or failed relationships. The lasting harm comes not from losing a job, but in not having the ability to learn a new job. Here state policies on education and training play a big role, for both good and ill.

Indiana's human capital policies increasingly emphasize preparing workers for a job. Whether it is in universities, community colleges or high schools, the emphasis on career readiness has never been stronger. I have long been sympathetic to that approach. Labor of all types is noble, and we cannot too often tell that to young people. Nevertheless, I increasingly believe we have gone too far, and now risk doing more harm than good to the long-term employability of Hoosiers.

Here's why:

Young people now in school must expect to work to age 70. Quite naturally, that should mean more time

spent developing human capital, part of which should be in formal schooling. Over the past quarter century, the United States has not created one single net new job for people who have not been to college. It seems natural that a bit stronger focus on college preparatory might be wise for most Hoosier kids. Instead, we are shifting our focus towards more career preparation. This necessarily means turning our attention away from traditional academic coursework. This has two very troubling costs.

The first of these is to rob from many students the aspirational goals of higher education. This will disproportionately affect poorer children, who have no family experience with college. Second, it will shift the focus of traditional school away from fundamental learning and towards more vocational instruction. Both of these policies may be well meaning, but both will unduly harm the very children they are designed to help.

The deep, dark secret of post-secondary training is that success is mostly a matter of mastering middle school skills. The mastery of pre-algebra, basic experimental physical sciences, the ability to read and write at a sixth- or seventh-grade level is sufficient for nearly all the coursework in the trades, at our state's community colleges and at programs supported by the Department of Workforce Development.

Workers who cannot master these skills and retain them through adulthood are unlikely to succeed in a post-secondary education of any type. Yet, the career focus of Indiana's K-12 and workforce development system is moving resources away from the very classrooms that provide that knowledge.

The workers laid off from GM's plants likely have few transferable skills. Even fewer are ready for the highly automated factories that will become the norm over the next two decades.

More troubling still, recent history suggests that a large share of these workers are unlikely to be successfully retrained simply because they are not ready for modern post-secondary training. These are vulnerable workers clustered in vulnerable communities, and there are dozens of these communities across our state.

Job losses, especially among the least educated workers, will always be a public policy issue. The most important skill we can give anyone is the ability to learn and relearn new skills over a long lifetime. The best and least costly place to do this is in elementary, middle and high schools. It is shortsighted to shift resources away from this central task of public education, which should be attracting more resources of time and money, not fewer. It's time to get back to basics. ❖

Hicks, PhD, is the director of the Center for Business and Economic Research and the George and Frances Ball distinguished professor of economics in the Miller College of Business at Ball State University.

Reshuffling the 2019 HPI Power 50 List

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – The annual HPI Power 50 List always goes through a vigorous transformation in the year following an election. The 2019 list which will be published in early January is no exception.

Exiting from top positions will be Sen. Joe Donnelly, Reps. Luke Messer and Todd Rokita, and Senate President David Long.

Our list is always predicated on who will be most likely to shape and influence politics and policy for the coming year. So 2019 will be shaped by the coming biennial budget, how the state responds to the opioid, school security and teacher pay and short-age issues, and the municipal elections.

Another key component will be how the 2020 gubernatorial race begins to shake out, with no Democrat heir apparent surfacing at this point.

We ask our readers to weigh in, nominate those worthy of consideration, or do your own list, which you can then send to me at bhowey2@gmail.com.

Here is the 2018 list:

1. Gov. Eric Holcomb
2. Vice President Mike Pence
3. U.S. Sen. Joe Donnelly
4. U.S. Rep. Todd Rokita
5. U.S. Rep. Luke Messer
6. Speaker Brian Bosma
7. Senate President David Long
8. U.S. Sen. Todd Young
9. National Intelligence Director Dan Coats
10. Drug Czar Jim McClelland and FSSA Commissioner Jennifer Walthall
11. Surgeon General Jerome Adams
12. Lt. Gov. Suzanne Crouch
13. State Sen. Ron Alting
14. U.S. Rep. Susan Brooks
15. South Bend Mayor Peter Buttigieg
16. Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett
17. John Sinder, Grant Monahan and Scot Imus
18. Mike Braun
19. Secretary of State Connie Lawson
20. Republican Chairman Kyle Hupfer
21. Democratic Chairman John Zody
22. House Minority Leader Terry Goodin and Senate Minority Leader Tim Lanane
23. Evansville Mayor Lloyd Winnecke
24. Hammond Mayor Thomas McDermott Jr.
25. U.S. Rep. Jackie Walorski
26. U.S. Rep. Trey Hollingsworth
27. U.S. Rep. Larry Bucshon

28. IEDC Director Jim Schellinger
29. Christina Hale
30. Rod Ratcliff
31. IMA President Brian Burton
32. Chamber President Kevin Brinegar
33. Fort Wayne Mayor Tom Henry
34. Purdue President Mitch Daniels
35. Ways & Means Chairman Tim Brown
36. State Sens. Ryan Mishler and Travis Holdman
37. Jay Ricker
38. U.S. Rep. Pete Visclosky
39. U.S. Rep. Jim Banks
40. U.S. Rep. Andre Carson
41. Kokomo Mayor Greg Goodnight
42. Fishers Mayor Scott Fadness
43. Supt. Jennifer McCormick

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HOWEY
POLITICS INDIANA

Thursday, Jan. 4, 2018

HPI Power 50: Indiana at a crossroads

The 2018 list is dominated by Holcomb, Pence, the Senate race and a question of Democratic survival

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – Indiana is, famously, the crossroads of America. As we head into 2018, this state stands at a nexus that eclipses the nation and world. Indiana is poised for what we've been calling the \$100 million U.S. Senate race that could determine which party controls the upper chamber.

We watch in fascination Vice President Mike Pence and Director of National Security Dan Coats attempt to keep President Trump within the guardrails, as his volatility via Twitter rattles everywhere



from Congress to capitals around the world. This surfaced once again on Tuesday when Trump goaded North Korea tyrant Kim Jong Un via tweet, comparing the size of his

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A haywire White House

By **BRIAN A. HOWEY**

INDIANAPOLIS – And the hits keep coming to what we now know is the "reality TV presidency" of Donald Trump.

On the second and third day of 2018, we find President Trump moving away from comparing body appendages (something we haven't been subjected to since the Clinton White House), to who has a bigger nuclear "button." As crass as who has the bigger package – Trump or Little Rocket Man – perhaps the more disturbing aspect is that Trump may actually believe the "button" exists, as opposed to the "biscuit."



"I have had many life transitions, from child, to an adult, to a mother, to a police officer, to a school board member, to a representative. This is a new chapter in my life and I am excited for another transition."

- Rep. Linda Lawson, who won't seek reelection.

44. Mike O'Brien
45. Holcomb Chief of Staff Earl Goode
46. Bill Hanna
47. East Chicago Mayor Anthony Copeland
48. Attorney General Curtis Hill
49. Pence Chief of Staff Nick Ayres
50. Club For Growth President David McIntosh ❖

Gabriel Sherman, Vanity Fair: After Michael Cohen's surprise plea agreement last week and Robert Mueller's latest disclosure that Michael Flynn sat for 19 interviews with the special counsel's office, the West Wing walls can feel like they're closing in. "They're freaking out," a former White House official told me, reflecting an emerging consensus that Mueller's investigation is entering the endgame. Even allies raised their eyebrows at Trump's tweet praising Roger Stone for not cooperating with Mueller. "Wow, that's actually obstruction of justice," a former West Wing official told me. But the ominous signs of Mueller's progress have not completely overwhelmed other subplots. On Monday, Trump hosted a 2020 strategy meeting with a group of advisers. Among the topics discussed was whether Mike Pence should remain on the ticket, given the hurricane-force political headwinds Trump will face, as demonstrated by the midterms, a source briefed on the session told me. "They're beginning to think about whether Mike Pence should be running again," the source said, adding that the advisers presented Trump with new polling that shows Pence doesn't expand Trump's coalition. "He doesn't detract from it, but he doesn't add anything either," the source said. Last month, The New York Times reported that Trump had been privately asking advisers if Pence could be trusted, and that outside advisers have been pushing Nikki Haley to replace Pence. One veteran of Trump's 2016 campaign who's still advising Trump told me the president hasn't been focused enough on 2020. "What he needs to do is consider his team for 2020 and make sure it's in place," the adviser said. "He has to have people on his team that are loyal to his agenda." Trump's doubts about Pence are surprising given Pence's frequent public encomiums and professions of loyalty. "Trump waxes and wanes on everyone," a prominent Republican close to the White House explained. Part of what's driving the debate over Pence's political value is Trump's stalled search for a chief of staff to replace John Kelly. According to a source, Kelly has recently been telling Trump that Pence doesn't help him politically. The theory is that Kelly is unhappy that Pence's 36-year-old chief of staff, Nick Ayers, has been openly campaigning for Kelly's job. "Kelly has started to get more political and he's whispering to Trump that Trump needs a running mate who can help him more politically," the source said. (The White House did not respond to a request for comment.) ❖



Ari Fleischer, Fox News: President Trump has changed the Republican Party and what it stands for. But after losing the House of Representatives to the Democrats in the Nov. 6 midterm elections, Republicans need to ask themselves: Is the way President Trump governs sustainable? Or, will it lead to further election losses in 2020 – including for Trump himself? After Mitt Romney was defeated by President Obama in the 2012 presidential election, the Republican National Committee asked me

and several other Republicans to study what went wrong. One of our recommendations was for the party to become more inclusive in an increasingly diverse nation. President Trump has expanded the party by gaining support from many formerly Democratic blue-collar voters without college degrees. But along the way, he lost many previously Republican college-educated voters – particularly women, who voted 59 percent to 40 percent for the Democrats the midterm elections. Historically, the impact presidents have on political parties is short-term. For example, are the Democrats the party of Presidents Bill Clinton or Barack Obama right now? Are Republicans the party of President George W. Bush? Demographic changes, however, are long-term. And the demographics of America are trending away from Republicans, as we predicted in the post-Romney report. That's because America is becoming more diverse – meaning less white. In the 2006 midterm elections, 79% of voters were white. In last month's midterms, the share of white voters dropped to 72%. They favored Republicans by 4 points. By 2020, America will be even less white. That means that unless the GOP does better with black and Hispanic voters, the only way the party of Lincoln can win would be to gain an even larger share of a smaller white voting bloc. Can Trump do it again? Maybe. But even if he can, where does that leave the rest of the GOP? And what will the Republican Party do – and stand for – in either two or six years, when Trump is out office? ❖

Michael Gerson, Washington Post: All the talk about the attributes of this generation or that generation is usually overblown. But there is an exception when a cohort of young Americans share a massive, overwhelming experience of economic depression or war. A certain view of their country is often formed and fixed. This can be said of Lt. John F. Kennedy, the commanding officer of PT-109. And Lt. Cmdr. Richard M. Nixon, who ran the South Pacific Combat Air Transport Command. And Navy aviator George H.W. Bush. Serving in the Pacific theater of World War II, these young men had few traits of temperament or character in common. But the war shaped their conception of the United States' global role and their view of the necessity and capability of government in general. People who fought in World War II were marinated in the ideas that evil is real and that American power is an essential, irreplaceable force for good. They intuitively understood the moral narrative of Munich, Buchenwald, D-Day, Hiroshima, NATO and the twilight struggle. And they generally shared the notion that the United States could do anything that power, wealth, will and courage could accomplish. Being one of the youngest Navy pilots in World War II, and blessed with longevity, George H.W. Bush was among the last of his cohort to leave us. As intelligence chief, diplomat and president, he brought to his calling a set of values that might be called patrician. He was less New Frontier and more old-school. ❖

Bush41 celebrated as a true statesman

WASHINGTON — George H.W. Bush was celebrated with high praise and loving humor Wednesday as the nation bade farewell to the man who was America's 41st president and the last to fight for the U.S. in wartime. Three former presidents looked on at Washington National Cathedral as a fourth — George W. Bush — eulogized his dad ([Associated Press](#)). "To us," the son said of the father, "his was the brightest of a thousand points of light." George W. Bush broke down briefly at the end of his eulogy while invoking the daughter his parents lost when she was 3 and his mother, Barbara, who died in April. He took comfort in knowing "Dad is hugging Robin and holding Mom's hand again." For all the somber tributes to the late president's public service and strength of character, laughter filled the cathedral time after time. The late president's eulogists — son included — noted Bush's tendency to tangle his words and show his goofy side. He was "the last great-soldier statesman," historian Jon Meacham said in his eulogy, "our shield" in dangerous times. But he also said that Bush, campaigning in a crowd in a department store, once shook hands with a mannequin. Rather than flushing in embarrassment, he simply cracked, "Never know. Gotta ask."



Judge admonishes Snyder attorneys

HAMMOND — A rift between attorneys Wednesday during a hearing prior to Portage Mayor James Snyder's public corruption trial caused the judge to issue a warning about being civil (Dolan, NWI Times). During defense attorney Jackie Bennett Jr.'s cross-examination of the lone witness in the hearing, retired FBI Agent Donald Cooley, Bennett began asking Cooley about the fate of fellow FBI Agent Eric Fields, who also was involved in Snyder's investigation. Bennett asked Cooley if he knew if Fields was transferred because of a disciplinary

issue. Cooley replied Fields was promoted and transferred. Assistant U.S. Attorney Philip Benson objected to the questioning as not being relevant. Bennett pressed Cooley about any disciplinary problems involving Fields; confidential informant and the mayor's brother Jon Snyder; and Jon Snyder's attorney, Christopher Buckley. Bennett asked Cooley if he knew if Fields was disciplined for trying to force Buckley to turn over records. Bennett continued asking Cooley about the alleged incident, including a meeting between Buckley and Benson. Benson immediately objected, accusing Bennett of making up facts and telling U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Van Bokkelen he would immediately take the stand and testify under oath that Bennett was lying. Van Bokkelen reeled the two in and redirected the testimony, but he issued a warning near the end of the two-hour hearing. "I'm a big guy on civility," Van Bokkelen said, warning both sides that if civility isn't maintained, they "will be called out."

Hickenlooper up for 2020 prez run

DENVER — Colorado Gov. John Hickenlooper and his allies are taking new steps toward launching a presidential campaign, including interviews with dozens of potential staffers and hiring a pollster and national fundraiser, according to a person close to the Democrat (Politico).

Freeman-Wilson expected audit finds

GARY — Mayor Karen Freeman-Wilson said the crux of a recent state audit flagging the city for lacking internal controls and improperly reconciled bank accounts should come as no surprise ([NWI Times](#)). "The report from the (State Board of Accounts) raised a number of issues that, quite frankly, were expected. That's why we raised the issue a year ago that

we needed to focus intensely on getting our finances in order," Freeman-Wilson said during Tuesday's City Council meeting. The SBOA has released a series of reports in recent months, finding numerous issues with the city of Gary's finances, including lack of internal controls and improper or late banking reconciliations. In other cases, funds were improperly used. Such was the case with the Genesis Convention Center, Finance Department and Marquette Park Pavilion, which led to staffing changes.

MC Council honors Rep. Boy

MICHIGAN CITY — After serving on the City Council for 15 years, Pat Boy will be heading downstate, and she shed a few tears on the way out ([Michigan City News-Dispatch](#)). Boy won the 9th District state representative seat in the Nov. 6 election, and became the acting rep as of 12:01 a.m. Nov. 7. That meant she had to resign her council seat. She was honored with a resolution — and a standing ovation that brought tears to her eyes — at Tuesday's City Council meeting. "Pat Boy cannot simply be summed up in a single thought," Second Ward councilwoman Candice Silvas said. "If I were to try, I would say that she is steadfast, and her quiet determination should never be underestimated."

Evansville's McGinn won't run

EVANSVILLE — City Councilman Dan McGinn is not seeking re-election next year ([Evansville Courier & Press](#)). McGinn began serving on City Council in 2008. He began his service as a Republican but left the party in 2017.